

Message Text

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EXDIS TOSEC 402

E.O.11652: GDS

SUBJECT: CSCE: NATO CONSULTATIONS

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM STABLER

REF: MUNICH 1048, SECTO 214

1. LUNS HAS CALLED FOR NAC DISCUSSIONS JULY 10 ON WHAT ALLIES CONSIDER ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF CONFERENCE. THERE FOLLOW BELOW DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS FOR RUMSFELD WHICH WE SUGGEST YOU RELAY TO HIM DIRECTLY BY FLASH MESSAGE, WITH INFO COPY FOR CSCE DELEGATION IN GENEVA. WE ARE SUGGESTING A SECOND NAC SESSION, FOLLOWING THAT ON JULY 10, TO GIVE PERMREPS TIME TO RECEIVE CONSIDERED INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS BEFORE NAC COMMISSIONS MORE DETAILED WORK IN SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE. MOST NATO DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING OUR OWN, WILL ALSO NEED SOME TIME TO FAMILIARIZE THEMSELVES WITH CSCE ISSUES, SINCE NAC
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AND SPC HAVE NOT DISCUSSED MATTER IN DETAIL FOR SEVERAL MONTHS NOW.

2. YOU WILL NOTE THAT WE ARE NOT CALLING FOR SPC

TO ATTEMPT TO DRAFT, IN ALL CASES, THE DETAILED TEXTS

WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME. WE FEAR A DETAILED DRAFTING EXERCISE IN NATO COULD LEAD TO PROTRACTED BUREAUCRATIC AND THEOLOGICAL HAGGLING AND DETRACT FROM THE BROADER POLITICAL FOCUS AND CONCRETE RESULTS WE UNDERSTAND THE SECRETARY WISHES TO ACHIEVE IN THESE CONSULTATIONS. WE RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME ELEMENTS WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN TERMS OF PRECISE TEXTUAL FORMULATIONS.

3. YOU WILL ALSO NOTE THAT THE PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR RUMSFELD IS RATHER LENGTHY AND THAT, AT THE SAME TIME, WE DO NOT SUGGEST HE GET VERY DEEPLY INTO DETAILS. WE BELIEVE THIS KIND OF GUIDANCE IS APPROPRIATE TO KICK-OFF THE NATO REVIEW IN A WAY WHICH BEGINS TO OUTLINE THE RESULTS WE WANT. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED AT THE SAME TIME TO COVER IN GUIDANCE MESSAGE, TO THE EXTENT APPROPRIATE, MANY OF THE POINTS YOU HAVE MENTIONED IN REFTEL. WE ARE PREPARING SCENARIOS CALLED FOR IN PARA 1 B AND 3 OF REFTEL.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF SUGGESTED INSTRUCTION TO RUMSFELD:

A. INITIAL NATO DISCUSSION OF CSCE RESULTS OFFERS US THE OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN SHAPING THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE BY BRINGING THE ALLIES TO FOCUS IN CAPITALS ON REALISTIC OUTCOMES IN EACH OF THE CONTENTIOUS AREAS, ESPECIALLY BASKETS 1 AND 3, LEADING TO AN EARLY WESTERN CONSENSUS. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE PREPARED THE FOLLOWING OUTLINE OF YOUR OPENING REMARKS FOR JULY 10 NAC DISCUSSION:

INTRODUCTION

B. AS SECRETARY SAID IN HIS JULY 4 BRIEFING, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD ADDRESS ESSENTIALLY TWO QUESTIONS DURING THESE CONSULTATIONS: (A) DOES ANY FORESEE-
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ABLE CSCE RESULT JUSTIFY A SUMMIT, AND (B) IF THE ANSWER TO (A) IS AFFIRMATIVE, WHAT WOULD BE THAT RESULT? THE US HAS NO REPEAT NO AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO PRODUCE A CSCE SUMMIT. RATHER, WE PROPOSE CLOSE NATO CONSULTATIONS ON THESE QUESTIONS. WE NEED TO OUTLINE TOGETHER THOSE ELEMENTS WE BELIEVE ESSENTIAL TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. THE US WILL NOT REPEAT NOT PRESS ITS ALLIES EITHER ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE OUTCOME OR THE LEVEL OF THE FINAL PHASE. IN TURN THE US DOES NOT WISH TO BE PRESSED EITHER.

C. OUR HOPE ESSENTIALLY IS TO LIFT THE INTER-ALLIED DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL HERE

AND IN CAPITALS SO THAT GOVERNMENTS CAN AGREE UPON OUR BASIC OBJECTIVES. THESE OBJECTIVES CAN THEN BE CONVEYED TO THE SOVIETS BY OUR NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA. IN THIS WAY, WE CAN MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE WESTERN SIDE IS NOT ENGAGED IN A DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN OF OBSTRUCTIONISM BUT IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON THE IMPORTANT OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS.

REVIEW OF CSCE PROGRESS TO DATE.

D. GENEVA NEGOTIATORS HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS ON THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, HAVING COMPLETED A FIRST READING OF FIVE OF THE TEN PRINCIPLES TO BE ADDRESSED AND BEGUN WORK ON THE SIXTH. THE MAJOR ALLIED DESIDERATA IN THIS AREA HAVE EMERGED WITH REASONABLE CLARITY AT LEAST IN GENERAL TERMS. THEY ARE: (A) SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS/PEACEFUL CHANGE OF BORDERS FORMULATIONS; (B) SATISFACTORY WORDING OF PARAGRAPHS ON SELF-DETERMINATION AND ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS; (C) ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE ON THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES; (D) APPROPRIATE MEANS OF INSURING THAT THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION CAN NOT BE INTERPRETED AS UNDERMINING QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS WITH RESPECT TO GERMANY AS A WHOLE AND BERLIN, A TOPIC WHICH, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN MORE DETAIL UNDER BONN GROUP AEGIS.

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E. UNDER THE SECOND AGENDA ITEM, SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE VARIOUS COOPERATION ISSUES, AND WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE MAJOR CONTROVERSIES UNDER THIS HEADING.

MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS.

F. THE FIRST OF THESE PROBLEM AREAS RELATES TO CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. THERE ARE TWO MAJOR POINTS OF DIFFERENCE HERE: (A) WHETHER TO INCLUDE A MEASURE COVERING PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR TROOP MOVEMENTS; (B) CRITERIA FOR THE CBM ON MANEUVERS.

G. WITH RESPECT TO TROOP MOVEMENTS, IT IS WELL KNOWN TO ALL OF YOU THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS OPPOSED TRYING TO DEAL WITH THIS IN CSCE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE SO FAR REMAINED SILENT ON THE MOVEMENTS QUESTION IN GENEVA IN ORDER NOT TO BREAK RANKS OPENLY WITH OUR ALLIES. IT REMAINS OUR VIEW THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD DROP THIS PROPOSAL.

H. ON MANEUVER CRITERIA, ESSENTIAL EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES NOW ARE AS FOLLOWS: (A) AMOUNT OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION: THE SOVIETS HAVE OFFERED TEN DAYS, WHILE THE UK HAS

SUGGESTED SEVEN WEEKS; (B) THRESHOLD: SOVIETS WISH TO NOTIFY MANEUVERS AT ARMY CORPS LEVEL, WHILE THE ALLIES WANT NOTIFICATION OF ALL MANEUVERS ABOVE 12,000 MEN; (C) AREA OF COVERAGE: THE SOVIETS ARE NOW TALKING IN TERMS OF 100 KILOMETER ZONES ALONG BORDERS, WHILE THE ALLIES HOLD TO THE FORMULATION "IN EUROPE;" (D) WHO WOULD BE NOTIFIED: THE SOVIET POSITION REMAINS THAT NATIONAL MANEUVERS WOULD BE NOTIFIED ONLY TO NEIGHBORING STATES WHILE NOTIFICATION OF MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS WOULD BE GIVEN TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE ALLIES ADVOCATE NOTIFICATION TO ALL PARTICIPANTS OF ALL MANEUVERS WITHIN THE AGREED CRITERIA.

I. WE BELIEVE THAT THE OUTLINES OF AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY TO SPLIT THE DIFFERENCE ON POINTS (A) THROUGH (C) ABOVE -- PERHAPS THIRTY DAYS PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS BY REINFORCED DIVISION AND ABOVE (ABOUT 20,000 MEN) TAKING PLACE ON THE LAND MASS OF EUROPE, BUT IN THE EUROPEAN USSR
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INCLUDING ONLY A BROAD BAND OF TERRITORY ON ITS WESTERN BORDER. IN THIS CONTEXT, I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD OPPOSE EXTENSION OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN. WITH RESPECT TO POINT (D) ABOVE, WE BELIEVE NOTIFICATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ALL PARTICIPANTS.

J) SECOND MAJOR PROBLEM AREA, OF COURSE, CONCERNS THE THIRD AGENDA ITEM. THE ISSUES HERE ARE OF TWO KINDS: (A) THE GENERAL ONE OF HOW TO DEAL WITH SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT ALL UNDERTAKINGS UNDER THIS HEADING SHOULD BE BASED ON RESPECT FOR "NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS" AND (B) THE SPECIFIC FREER MOVEMENT TOPICS TO WHICH THE WEST ATTACHES PRIMARY IMPORTANCE.

K) WITH RESPECT TO POINT (A) ABOVE, AS YOU KNOW, THE FINNS HAVE PROPOSED IN GENEVA THE FOLLOWING COMPROMISE: (A) THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO REPEAT NO EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS IN THE BASKET 3 PREAMBLE, BUT RATHER A STATEMENT THAT COOPERATION IN THIS AREA SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITH DUE RESPECT FOR ALL THE PRINCIPLES COVERED IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION; (B) IN THAT DECLARATION, EITHER THE PARAGRAPH ON NON-INTERVENTION OR THAT ON SOVEREIGNTY WOULD INCLUDE LANGUAGE PLEDGING PARTICIPANTS TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF EACH OTHER TO DETERMINE "NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS."

L) THIS GENERAL TOPIC IS NOW UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION AT GENEVA, AND I BELIEVE WE SHOULD URGE OUR NEGOTIATORS TO WORK ACTIVELY TOWARD ITS RESOLUTION, UTILIZING

THE VEHICLE OF THE NEUTRAL "PACKAGE DEAL" TO EXPEDITE IT AS APPROPRIATE. NATURALLY A BASIC ELEMENT IN THE OVERALL COMPROMISE SHOULD BE SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON SPECIFIC FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES.

M) ON THESE SPECIFIC FREER MOVEMENT TOPICS, MOST OF US AGREE THAT A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME WOULD INCLUDE GOOD TEXTUAL FORMULATIONS ON FAMILY RELATED ISSUES. A TEXT ON FAMILY VISITS HAS ALREADY HAD A FIRST READING IN GENEVA. WE SHOULD ALSO HAVE ACCEPTABLE
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DOCUMENTS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND ON THE MATTER OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES. WE NEED TO BE CLEAR, HOWEVER, ON WHAT WE REGARD AS THE KEY POINTS IN THESE TEXTS.

N) BEYOND THESE FAMILY RELATED ISSUES, WHAT ELSE DO WE REQUIRE? I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD DECIDE UPON FOUR OR FIVE ADDITIONAL PRIORITY TOPICS AND AGREE ON THE OUTLINES OF THE CONTENT OF EACH OF THEM. IN THIS WAY, THE NUMBER OF TEXTS NOW ON THE TABLE AT GENEVA COULD BE PARED DOWN TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS WITHOUT ANY REAL SUBSTANTIVE LOSS, AND WE WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO AIM FOR GOOD RESULTS ON THE MAIN ISSUES.

O) WE WOULD WELCOME SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHERS ON WHAT THE ESSENTIAL TOPICS ARE, AND WHAT KINDS OF UNDERTAKINGS WOULD MEET BASIC WESTERN REQUIREMENTS.

FUTURE WORK PROGRAM

P) I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE SCHEDULE ONE FURTHER MEETING OF THE NAC, PERHAPS ON JULY 17, WHICH SHOULD GIVE DELEGATIONS TIME TO RECEIVE CONSIDERED INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS REFLECTING NATIONAL REACTIONS TO TODAY'S EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE MIGHT THEN ASK THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO BEGIN WORK ON A STUDY, WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE FOLLOWING AREAS: A) REFINEMENT OF MAJOR ALLIED GOALS WITH RESPECT TO THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION (AS I SAID EARLIER, I BELIEVE THE GENERAL OUTLINES OF WHAT WE SEEK HAVE ALREADY EMERGED); B) THE OUTLINE OF AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE ON CBMS; AND C) THE SELECTION OF PRIORITY ISSUES UNDER THE THIRD AGENDA ITEM AND AGREEMENT ON ACCEPTABLE CONTENT OF UNDERTAKINGS THAT WE SHOULD SEEK UNDER EACH ONE.

Q) I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SPC SHOULD UNDERTAKE A LENGTHY DRAFTING EXERCISE. INDEED, WE BELIEVE, I REPEAT, THE PURPOSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE TO RAISE CONSIDERATION OF CSCE TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL IN ALL GOVERNMENTS AND TO DIRECT HIGH LEVEL ATTENTION TO THE CENTRAL ISSUES.

WE CAN THEN WORK OUT HERE THE OBJECTIVES FOR EACH OF THE
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ISSUES SO THAT EACH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS CAN PROVIDE TIMELY
GUIDANCE TO ITS NEGOTIATORS AT GENEVA.

R) TO HELP US IN OUR TASK, AND TO ASSURE THAT WE MOVE IN
TANDEM WITH OUR GENEVA DELEGATIONS, I SUGGEST THAT HEADS
OF ALLIED CSCE DELEGATIONS SHOULD JOIN US FOR THE NEXT NAC
DISCUSSION AND THAT, IF POSSIBLE, MEMBERS OF THEIR STAFFS
COME TO BRUSSELS AS NECESSARY TO HELP WITH THE WORK OF THE
SPC.

CSCE SUMMER RECESS

S) IT HAS BECOME APPARENT TO ALL OF US THAT IT WILL BE
IMPOSSIBLE TO WIND UP THE GENEVA TALKS THIS MONTH. THE
QUESTIONS OF THE DATES OF THE SUMMER RECESS IS BEST LEFT TO
NEGOTIATORS AT GENEVA. HOWEVER, I DO WANT TO EMPHASIZE
HERE THAT ALLIED GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PRESENT THE PROSPECT
OF SUMMER ADJOURNMENT IN A POSITIVE LIGHT AND NOT AS AN
INDICATION OF ACRIMONIOUS STALEMATE AT GENEVA. THIS SHOULD
NOT BE DIFFICULT TO DO IF WE POINT TO THE NORMAL AUGUST
VACATION PERIOD IN EUROPE, WHICH WILL ALLOW PARTICIPANTS
TIME ALSO TO PREPARE FOR THE CONCLUDING PHASE OF STAGE II.
END TEXT. SISCO

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